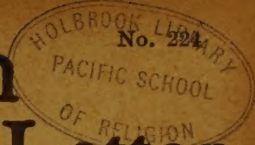


# The Christian News-Letter

Edited by  
J. H. OLDHAM



December 27th, 1944

DEAR MEMBER,

What was said in the News-Letter (C.N.-L. Nos. 216 and 224) about religion in Russia has brought some illuminating comments.

Dr. Borkenau, it will be remembered, in the article which was summarized drew attention to the profound differences in the form which Christianity has assumed in the west and in the east, and found the essence of these differences not in dogmatic disagreements, but in contrasted conceptions of the nature of the religious life. In the east, the core and kernel of the faith has lain in turning one's back upon the world in asceticism and contemplation; in the west, both in Catholicism and Protestantism, the central emphasis has been on practical morality.

## EASTERN AND WESTERN CHRISTIANITY

Here is part of a letter from one of our outstanding theologians:—

"I showed the original Borkenau article to an orthodox Lutheran. He would not allow that there was anything at all in the theory. I'm not so sure, though. Certainly I have long felt that Geneva and Rome are after the same thing, over against Lutheranism and Orthodoxy. So far I feel sure Borkenau is on the right lines. Of course he is defending a thesis and overstates his case, as we all do. But one must remember that he is using the characteristic *aberrations* of each side to determine its basic tendency. Allowing for that, I am disposed to think that he has made out a case which is at least arguable. We who stand in the 'Reformed' tradition (and this includes the Church of England which, so far as it is Protestant, is Calvinistic rather than Lutheran, and otherwise represents the western Catholic tradition), must have been frequently scandalized and perplexed (certainly I have been) by the difficulty which your thorough-going Lutheran seems to have about admitting that a Christian ought to be *good*! If you suggest it, he thinks you are detracting from the purity of the central Christian experience of justification by faith alone. Now your Orthodox is not concerned about justification by faith, in which I think he takes little stock. Indeed I find Orthodox exposition of Paul incurably Pelagian. But I do think it is true (so far as I have had contact with Orthodox) that he doesn't find the distinctive excellence of a Christian in the social virtues, as we understand them, but in a kind of warmth of spirituality, with a mystical and ascetic cast.

"Well, if there is something in it, there arises the further question whether, if Orthodoxy is anything like what Borkenau represents it (allowing for his use of the caricature to illustrate the differentia), we are simply to repudiate it and with it the kindred strain in Lutheranism. My personal tendency is to do so. But I fancy Heiler is a better

guide on the relation of the 'mystical' and the 'prophetic-evangelical' types of religion. He sharply distinguishes the two and insists that the religion of the Bible is fundamentally of the latter type; but not to the exclusion of the former, only to its subordination. Indeed, it is difficult to rule out of biblical Christianity something which one can hardly fail to call mystical, in view of the Johannine writings.

"The moralistic bias of Calvinism can lead to the thin superficialities of much modern Protestantism, if once it loses its strong dogmatic basis. Even though I easily lose patience with our Lutheran friends, I am conscious that their witness that Christianity is not just social morality is a help to us. Each side has to avoid its particular aberration like the devil, and it is helped to do so by criticism from the other side."

## HISTORICAL DESTINY

Another correspondent takes strong exception to the statement of a writer belonging to the Orthodox Church (C.N.-L. No. 221), that the decisive reason for the acceptance of the Russian revolution by the Russian Church was a realization that it is quite impossible to meet an historical event of these dimensions "with the fury of a moralist or to judge it by abstract ideological yardsticks." Why, he asks, may not a similar attitude be taken to the Hitler Revolution? And, in that case, what is the meaning of the struggle of the Confessional Church in Germany? The question is one that will bear a lot of thinking about and is not to be passed over lightly.

The German Evangelical Church in its celebrated declaration at the Synod of Barmen in 1934 asserted: "We condemn the false doctrine that the Church can and should recognize as a revelation of God, and so as a source of her preaching, any other events, powers, personalities or truths beyond and beside this one Word of God."

It is noteworthy that, whereas the main object of Dr. Borkenau's article was to call attention to certain affinities and similarities between eastern Christianity and Lutheranism, we find here an Orthodox and a Lutheran view in the sharpest opposition to one another.

The two views have their roots in such widely different historical experiences and traditions, and each raises such deep questions, that to relate them rightly to one another would require a book and cannot be attempted in a News-Letter. But since the question at issue is not a theoretic one, but has a direct bearing on our practical attitude as Christians to the events of our time, it seems worth while to ask whether the two writers are not, in fact, speaking about different things. It may be that each view needs the continual corrective of the other.

To accept the revelation of God in Christ as the ultimate source of meaning in life and as the ultimate criterion of judgment does not preclude us from attempting to understand in the light of that revelation the events of our time, but impels us rather to seek for such understanding. The Orthodox writer did not say that the Russian Revolution was a providential event just because it happened, nor that success is in itself a mark of divine approval; he expressly repudiated such an interpretation. In all human existence good and evil are in incessant conflict, and consequently in every great historical happening they are inextricably mingled. No two historical events are the same. In one



the good may predominate, in another the evil. It is theoretically possible—the question is far too large for discussion here—that the Russian Church may have been right in discerning spiritual meaning in the Russian Revolution, and the Confessional Church in Germany also right in its resistance to the Nazi claims.

## A CLUE TO THE TREATMENT OF GERMANY

The same question how far historical situations are amenable to “the fury of the moralist,” or even to his persuasive recommendations, is raised in a challenging form in quite another connection in a letter that has just come from America. The writer is Professor Rosenstock-Huessy, who has been from its early days a warm friend and close reader of the Christian News-Letter. He is a distinguished historian and the author of *Out of Revolution*, which is a brilliant history of European revolutions. The question which he presses on our attention is fundamental. Attention was directed to it in the Supplement by the late Archbishop of Canterbury which appeared exactly a year ago.

The point, as I understand it, is this. The predominant tendency of Christian opinion and effort to-day is to deal with international relations almost exclusively in terms of moral purpose and principles. What we have to realize is that the attempt to solve a problem by insistence on moral principles alone may be not only ineffective, but positively harmful, when the fundamental trend of things is in a contrary direction; that is to say, when the external conditions which limit and thwart men's actions, and the psychological forces which give direction to their instinctive and emotional life are in contradiction with moral aims. It is very necessary that we should be pointedly reminded that the clue to the solution of our international problems may lie in a quarter very different from what we suppose. Here is the letter:—

“It may be impertinent to ask for space in your precious News-Letter. However, there is a kind of impasse reached in your discussions about Germany. And it is the lack of a new keyboard which seems to cause this deadlock. I do not believe that England and Germany are neighbours in the sense that you and I are. You and I are not divided in our souls by our maker. But God did divide the nations, and it is up to us to find out what he meant by this division.

“A man or woman living at this moment in Germany—and you and I know of such—may be much nearer to the kingdom than any one outside. But the unit *Germany* is hagridden, mad, and off its feet, driven to replace its lack of function by war.

“The new keyboard which I would like to suggest was used first—as far as I know—in the magazine which a Roman Catholic, a Protestant and a Jew, all believers after the manner of their religious communities, published for three years during the twenties. Its name was its programme: *The Creature (Die Kreatur)*. What did this try to convey? In the history of creation, God made man; but even when the perfect man had appeared, the creation of further social groups went on. Can we not treat nations as creatures, without prejudicing any soul's state inside this nation?

“If warring nations are labelled as created in the image of God, then such labels as those of mercy and justice are applicable to them.

But if they were created as *nurseries* of men, they must be treated with quite a different vocabulary. And is not this vocabulary ready at hand? When Lord Haldane was ruined because he had called Germany his spiritual home, he had not given away any secret. A division of labour between the nations was quite obvious for the last nine hundred years. Creature-like forms, they allowed the human soul, which was exposed to their *interplay*, to reach the full stature promised in the gospel. Does Lord Vansittart believe for a minute that an Englishman of 1800 was not partly 'made' by Italian influence and by German? The blocking off of these entities 'Germany, England, Italy,' is not in accordance with the facts. It is a very unholy usage. They were, as Burke said, of one piece.

"But it is true that in this division of labour a hitch has developed. With Austria-Hungary destroyed, and the U.S., Russia, and Japan playing new instruments, Germany lost her former place as the producer of civil servants, theologians, scientists, poets, musicians, under the protection of the many States of the German Reformation. Deprived of her former function, unable to become an innocuous Luxemburg or Switzerland, she ran amok. *Find the proper world-wide function for Germany and she can be cured. She cannot be cured by moralizing.*

"In recommending the serious use of the term 'creature,' I wish to protest against the idea that 'there is not a Christian solution' for a problem like this. There is indeed. For the entering into the destiny of all things created is indeed all we can hope to do as God's will. This is it. Of course, there are innumerable degrees of understanding; but the fact that we may not dive deep enough into the mystery of the forces created by God, should not force us to say that there is 'no' Christian solution. There is none if you think in moral terms. But under the rule of the Spirit, there certainly must be, because the Creator and the Spirit and the Love to God's creation, by which we come to know, are, fortunately, not three Gods but one."

## RACE RELATIONS

While the intolerable German claim to dominate the rest of the world on the ground of racial superiority is being contested at immeasurable cost among the peoples who are resisting it, there are to be found similar doctrines and attitudes of racial superiority, which are not less odious when they are professed and adopted by Anglo-Saxons.

The problem of establishing relations of understanding and co-operation between different races meets us on a vast scale in the British Empire. We hope in the coming year to examine some of these problems. We are fortunate to be able in the meantime to publish a Supplement on race relations in the United States as these have been affected by the war.

Dr. Anson Phelps Stokes is a Canon of Washington Cathedral. He was for a long period the secretary of Yale University, and knows the universities of Europe as well as of America. He is the President of the Phelps-Stokes Foundation, established to promote and assist Negro Education, and is one of the best-informed persons in America on the subject on which he writes. Yours sincerely,

D. H. Deane



# AMERICAN RACE RELATIONS IN WAR TIME

DEAR DR. OLDHAM,

You have asked me to write for The Christian News-Letter an article on "American Race Relations in War Time," showing particularly the changes which have been effected by the war. The subject is a broad one and only a few major facts and trends can be mentioned. There can be no question that the war has not only increased the opportunities for the advancement of minority groups and for larger inter-racial co-operation, but that it has created and accentuated race problems. All thoughtful students would, I think, agree that in the five years since the second World War began the Negro in the United States has made greater progress than in any decade in the last half century. Along with this, however, has come much inter-racial tension, and even bitter strife in some urban industrial centres. There has also developed on the part of the leaders of Negro public opinion a conviction, shared by many thoughtful white people, that as we are engaged in a world contest in behalf of democracy and freedom, which includes Europe, Asia and Africa in its scope, and is determined to uproot Nazi ideas of racialism, we cannot be satisfied until much greater progress is made in America, and until the coloured man and the white man are treated precisely alike by Government. This condition still seems far off.

## I. THE VARIETY AND EXTENT OF RACE PROBLEMS IN THE UNITED STATES

When most people think of race relations in the United States they instinctively have in mind the problem of integrating the Negro into American life, but this is far from being the only serious race problem. It is, to be sure, far and away the most difficult and important, partly because the Negro population, according to the census of 1940, represented almost one-tenth of the total population, namely 12,865,518 out of 131,669,275. No other group not representing predominantly western European stock is anything like so large. But there are other reasons which bring the Negro question to the forefront and make it specially difficult, such as that the Negro alone of the population groups was until less than a century ago a slave; that his antecedents differed more than those of any other large group from the characteristic American pattern; and that as a result of historical conditions, and in spite of recent strides forward, his condition is economically and culturally the most backward.

But the difficulty and seriousness of Negro-White adjustments must not blind us to the fact that there are many other groups which for one reason or another have not been completely assimilated into American life, or against which there is a good deal of what might be called nativistic prejudice in some parts of the country. These groups, in order of their size, are the four and a half million Jews, many of whom prefer to consider their difference from the dominant American stock as religious and cultural rather than racial; the Mexicans, generally a mixture of Indian and Spanish blood, who according to the

latest population census were 377,433 in number ; the North American Indians, 333,969 ; the Japanese, 126,947, of whom 79,642 are citizens ; and the Chinese population, 77,504. There are other " foreign " or alien groups where the problem of adjustment is relatively slight, such as in the case of the French Canadian, Filipino, Puerto Rican and Syrian populations, or where the numbers involved are small, such as in the case of the Hindus, 2,405.

During the war there has been one major event affecting these non-Negro groups, namely, the repeal of the sixty years' old Chinese Exclusion Law, signed by President Roosevelt December 17, 1943. This was a major victory in behalf of inter-racial co-operation and world unity. The new law makes all Chinese living in this country eligible for naturalization, and removes immigration barriers to permit Chinese (105) to enter the United States annually on the regular quota basis. The magnificent leadership of the Generalissimo and Mrs. Chiang Kai-Shek in defending their country against Japanese aggression, and the interest created by American missionaries from China are largely responsible for this change. The old Oriental Exclusion Laws still apply to Japanese and Hindus. There is no large amount of discussion regarding them at present, although there are many groups who would like ultimately to see all nations placed on a proportionate quota basis. As far as the Japanese are concerned, however, there is no chance of this being done in the near future.

Outside of the Negroes the most difficult inter-racial problem that has arisen in connection with the war has been with the Japanese. As far as Japanese citizens are concerned there has been no large difference of opinion. Their internment as enemy aliens was right and necessary, but many thoughtful people believe that the American government went too far and acted contrary to the Bill of Rights in ordering the internment of the so-called Nisei, that is Japanese-American citizens. This was due to fears in the army and in the Far Western States in the early days of the war when an attempt at invasion seemed not unlikely. Although it is believed by many that the action of the American government in this latter respect was unfortunate, there is general agreement that it has been carried out in a humane way, and in the course of time, after careful study of individual records, tens of thousands of the Nisei have been allowed to return to their homes or to suitable work elsewhere outside of internment camps. In this connection it is worth recording that the Japanese-Americans in Hawaii have acted magnificently. They constitute the largest element in the population of the Islands, and make up over half of the militia, and yet neither the American government nor responsible American citizens in the islands have found anything to criticize seriously in their conduct. Indeed they have found much to praise. The Japanese consulate in Hawaii at the time of the Pearl Harbour attack was undoubtedly made up of spies and saboteurs, but the Japanese-Americans were entirely loyal. Indeed, Hawaii, with its mixture of Hawaiian, Caucasian, Chinese, Japanese, Filipino, and other racial groups, but with only a handful of Negroes, is probably the most impressive example under the American flag of inter-racial co-operation. This seems to be due mainly to two historical factors—the kindly nature of the native Kanaka



population and the standards set by most of the early American missionaries and continued by their highly influential descendants.

As to the Jewish problem, it is not, strictly speaking, a racial one, but it is well to refer to it here, at least in passing. There has been an increase, rather than a decrease, of anti-Semitism during the war. The reasons are not all easy to trace, but they include unquestionably three important facts—Nazi propaganda, the demands of certain extreme Zionist groups which have created a reaction, and the influence of a few agitators. There have been some minor demonstrations against the Jews, and there is a good deal of latent anti-Semitism in the country—more than in England. This is in spite of the fact that Jews attend the public schools in all States on entire equality with other citizens; that they are found in the Cabinet, the Supreme Court, both Houses of Congress, University Faculties, and other positions of honour and trust; and that they include many of America's most distinguished and honoured citizens. They have shown themselves loyal to the country of their adoption during the war. The Churches have almost uniformly taken a fine stand against all forms of anti-Jewish discrimination. The Roman Catholic Church, in spite of the utterances of Father Coughlin, has taken an outspoken stand in favour of fair play and justice in this matter.

## II. THE EFFECT OF THE WAR ON CONCEPTS OF RACE

There is no clearer example of the close-knit character of the modern world than the influence of extreme Nazi ideological concepts of race on the thinking of distant democracies. We all condemn the *Herrenvolk* idea as both unscientific and unchristian, but in the final analysis the "white supremacy" doctrine held by large groups of people in the South, and some in the North, is closely akin to it in theory. It assumes that one race is inherently and permanently superior, another inferior. This is, of course, a particularly flagrant anomaly in the United States, where our Declaration of Independence lays great emphasis on the theory of the natural rights of man, that all men are created equal, and that man as man has certain inalienable rights—a doctrine carried over into the Bill of Rights of the Federal Constitution, and confirmed, especially in so far as the Negro population was concerned, by the Civil War amendments.

The old doctrine of white supremacy as an inherent and permanent factor in civilization is dying hard. Its opponents, of course, do not deny that the average white man is superior to-day, in education and consequently in actual competence for government, to the Negro, especially to the relatively little developed Negro in the rural South; but all thoughtful people must now accept the conclusion of science that biologically the races are one and that there is large latent capacity for growth in every human being as such. This, of course, is the Christian teaching. An evidence, however, of the difficulty of getting this modern view over to the controlling elements in the country is that an excellent little book entitled *The Races of Mankind*, prepared by two anthropologists of the Columbia University faculty, was, after tens of thousands of copies had been ordered, excluded from the educational equipment of army camps last winter, mainly because it quoted

statistics to show that the intelligence quotient of Northern Negroes (predominantly urban) who came up for the draft in the last war was above that of the average Southern white man (predominantly rural) similarly examined. These and similar statistics help thoughtful people to realize that the differences that exist to-day between racial groups are due primarily to differences in education, housing, environment and economic status, and that they can all be removed in time and the Negro aided to qualify for taking his full part as an American citizen. So the war, by raising the *Herrenvolk* issue in the case of Germany, has driven home to us in the United States that we are subject to attack on the ground of inconsistency and insincerity if we, as a democracy, make any requirements for voting or office-holding that do not treat white men and coloured men exactly on the same objective basis.

### III. THE EFFECT OF THE WAR ON NEGRO-WHITE RACE RELATIONS

The effects are manifold in bringing about a more intelligent and deeper interest in race relations. The press clearly reveals this change. I am confident that the representative papers of the United States give at least twice as much space to various phases of the race question to-day as they did before this war. It is also discussed much more in editorials and in special magazine articles. The reading public is becoming increasingly accustomed to articles by Negroes and to published accounts of inter-racial conferences, and of the actions of the leading organizations of the coloured people of the country. The literature of race has also been increasing by leaps and bounds. There is not a public library of importance in the country where it is not represented. I can remember that the late President Alderman, a liberally minded Southerner, told me that when he became President of the University of Virginia, just forty years ago, there was not a book specifically devoted to the race problem in the University of Virginia Library. Such a condition is unthinkable to-day, even in the deep South.

As the war is being fought quite largely against intolerable and unchristian racial concepts, it is inevitable that America should examine conditions at home, and as it does it finds that although enormous progress has been made, conditions affecting the rights, opportunities and status of the coloured people are far from satisfactory. As a result, books, articles, pamphlets on every phase of the problem and written from every conceivable point of view are legion.

Two recent books of very different types stand out. The first is the so-called Myrdal Survey—a two volume work by Gunnar Myrdal, the Economic Adviser of the Swedish Government and a Senator in the Swedish Parliament, who was brought to this country by the Carnegie Corporation in 1938 and allowed to choose and employ a large staff of Northerners and Southerners, white and Negro, to help him in the preparation of a new appraisal of the Negro in the United States. It appeared late last winter under the title *An American Dilemma*. It is a monumental work, bringing out clearly the fact that the solution of the so-called Negro problem is an acid moral test for democratic institutions; that the Negro—in spite of recent improvement in conditions—is not given a fair opportunity for advancement; that the



American people must see that the civil and political rights of Negroes under the Constitution are protected if American democracy is not to be considered insincere ; and that this involves much more emphasis on education as well as all sorts of readjustments, especially in outlook and in economic opportunity. The book is a factual study of epoch-making significance. Nothing approaching it in comprehensiveness and thoroughness has ever appeared, and such facts as that it bears the name of a distinguished foreign publicist who cannot be accused of prejudice, and that it is thoroughly documented, make it carry special weight.

The other book, which appeared early this year, is of a very different type, a novel entitled *Strange Fruit*, by Miss Lilian Smith, a Southerner from Georgia. As a result of a few years spent in educational work in China, and of her own thinking, she has come to accept radical views on the whole matter of Negro rights. These she has courageously upheld for several years in her magazine, *The South To-day*. The novel may be open to criticism from the standpoint of taste, but it is written by a very sincere person of large outlook and brilliant ability who feels that Southern conditions as they affect the Negro are intolerable and that they must be radically remedied. Hundreds of thousands of copies have been sold, and the book is being read, North and South, by all thoughtful elements of the population. It will result in much searching of heart and constructive thinking. It is an interesting comment on the situation that had it been written by a Northerner the author would hardly have dared visit the South, but being written by a Southern woman of Southern traditions, it is being broadly accepted in the South as representing an honest, even though a mistaken, point of view, and as showing the need of helping to remove those shackles which the Negro as a Negro must still endure in so many places.

Instances taken almost at random from various fields of activity will show that there have been significant advances in the status of the coloured people in relation to the white population during the war. Here are a few :—

The election of Dr. Du Bois, the well-known Negro author, sociologist and publicist to membership in the National Institute of Arts and Letters, this being the first time that a Negro has been so honoured.

The appointment of a well-qualified Negro, Dr. Ralph Bunche, a graduate of a Northern University, to a position in the State Department, the first appointment of a Negro to such a position in the Home Office.

The dinner given in the ballroom of one of the more representative hotels in New York to President Elect Tubman, of Liberia, at which the large majority of guests were coloured people, a dinner which it would have been impossible to hold under such auspices a few years ago.

The invitation by the Daughters of the American Revolution, one of the most conservative national organizations, to Miss Marian Anderson to sing in Constitution Hall, Washington, although a similar opportunity was denied her to give a concert in the same place a few years ago.

The reorganization of a representative New York hospital, the Sydenham Hospital, so as to place it on an inter-racial basis, both as

far as trustees, physicians, nurses and patients are concerned—the first significant attempt to develop a truly inter-racial hospital in this country.

The appointment of a Negro to be foreman of a jury in Brooklyn.

The starting of an inter-racial Church in San Francisco, with joint white and coloured pastors.

The authorizing of over a dozen Negro correspondents to go abroad to write reports on Negro troops in action, and in the case of at least one paper, the progressive PM of New York, the employment of a Negro foreign correspondent by a paper under white control.

The increase in the number of commissioned Negro officers in the army to about 5,000, about three times as many as in the last war.

The permitting of Negroes to take part in the Democratic primaries in several counties of Texas this year for the first time.

The adoption by two or three Southern and border states of the principle of equal pay for white and coloured teachers of the same grade.

The relaxing of segregation in Pullman and dining cars.

The opening of the classes of St. Louis University (Roman Catholic), although in a border state, to six coloured students.

This list might be easily extended to many times its length.

Some of these instances, when taken by themselves, may not seem particularly significant, but when they are grouped together, and when one realizes that they are but a fraction of similar happenings, it will be realized that the progress of the Negro in the United States during the war years has been of epoch-making significance.

Of course there is a debit side, that is to say, there are many things which the Negro desires and should have which have not yet been granted him; but there have been almost no definitely backward steps on the part of the Government. Instances of unsatisfied hopes that naturally cause much resentment are:—

The failure to upgrade more Negroes in industry.

The unwillingness of the South to accept without long legal battles the Supreme Court decision of admitting qualified Negroes to the primaries.

The unwillingness of certain Southern States to eliminate the Poll Tax or to unite in having it abolished by some constitutional federal means.

The utterly inadequate decent housing and recreational facilities for Negroes in most American cities.

The failure of the Administration to attack more effectively the evils of extreme segregation in the army and navy, and in many branches of civil life.

These and similar facts have not left us with any feeling of contentment over the existing situation, but in spite of them the total picture gives large grounds for encouragement.

#### IV. THE PROGRESS OF THE NEGRO DURING THE WAR

A notable effect of the war has been the progress that it has brought about in the opportunities of the Negro. In the armed services we find Negro pursuit squadrons appearing for the first time in aviation; Negroes admitted to some positions in the navy other than those of a



purely manual or service character; the training of Negro and white army officers even in the same Southern camps; the hospitalization of white and Negro soldiers in the same hospitals; the enlistment of coloured women in the W.A.C.S.—the women's organization serving the army; the admission of Negro groups on fairly satisfactory conditions to the Marine Corps and the Coast Guard; and the general opening up to them of the Merchant Marine, including in a few cases giving them the captaincy of a ship with a "checker board," i.e. mixed white and coloured crew. This success in integrating Negroes into the Merchant Marine is due in part to the breadth of view of the Maritime Commission and in part to the efforts of the National Maritime Union. General Eisenhower recently stated that "Negro troops did their duty excellently under fire on Normandy's beaches in a zone of heavy combat and suffered substantial losses."

In the world of industry the progress of the Negro has been very marked. Some branches, such, for instance, as aeroplane manufacture from which Negroes have been heretofore excluded, except as labourers, have been open to them in large numbers, and there has been a notable increase in their employment in ship-building. There are over one and a half million Negroes in war industries alone—including an ever-increasing number in skilled and semi-skilled positions. Many transportation companies, such as some of the bus lines in New York, have employed Negro operators and ticket distributors with good results. Carpenters and masons have worked with white workmen in building military camps and public housing projects. One sees them increasingly as draftsmen in engineers' offices, as saleswomen in shops, as chemists and technicians, and in many similar positions.

A committee was established early in the war entitled "The Committee on the Negro-American in Defence Industry," which gained the support of leading citizens, North and South, in its widely quoted pronouncement demanding equality of treatment in industry. There has been friction in some places when coloured workers have been introduced or up-graded; but on the whole, where the introduction has been wisely prepared for and directed, there has been relatively little trouble. There has been a difference of attitude in the two great labour federations—the American Federation of Labour and the Congress of Industrial Organizations. The former, being a craft organization, has generally excluded Negroes or insisted on their having separate unions of their own, and has frequently opposed their employment in the same rooms with whites. The latter, taking in all workmen in a given industry, has been, on the whole, open-minded and constructive in its attitude. Indeed, there are few factors working towards the solution of the race problem in the South more significant than the C.I.O. Unions.

In civic and political life the Negro has made great advances. The Supreme Court of the United States has handed down a series of decisions which have greatly improved his status as a citizen and voter. Indeed, this Court, which fortunately for the effect of its decisions now includes three Justices from the South and border States, has taken unequivocally the position that under the Constitution no distinction can be made between the rights of the Negro and the rights of the white man. As a result of this and other developments we have seen

more Negroes voting in the South, more thoughtful discussion between representative Southern white men and Negroes as to the solution of the South's special problems, and very great advancement in the Negro's civil status in Northern cities. New York, for instance, is a good example of a city where the Negro has been well integrated into municipal life with Negroes on the City Council and some of the courts, and holding important administrative positions in the municipal government. Furthermore, outstanding Negroes have come to the fore who hold their own in influence on civic matters with recognized white leaders. Such men as Judge Delany and Dr. Channing Tobias of New York, Judge Hastie and Mr. Thurgood Marshall of Washington, and Mr. Walter White, the courageous, outspoken and aggressive leader of the N.A.A.C.P., are examples. They are heard over the radio, at many national conferences and public dinners, and carry weight both because they are outstanding Negroes and because they are thoughtful citizens.

In general the national influence of the Negro has greatly increased. The Negro vote has become a factor of importance which no political party can wisely disregard outside of the South, and even in the South there have been encouraging signs, such as the defeat at the polls of several prominent Negrophobe politicians and increased political activity by Negroes in the border states.

The educated American Negro's political interest also extends to the dark people of other parts of the world striving for self-determination. This applies particularly to India and Africa. His interest in the latter continent—both in its historic forms of culture and its present needs—has greatly increased during the war. He knows that it started in Abyssinia with Italian aggression; that it has taken hundreds of thousands of American troops to its shores; and that it has profoundly influenced the life of its people. He is determined to do what he can to prevent further commercial exploitation and political imperialism in the continent with which he has so many historical ties, and to encourage more opportunities for the education, economic advancement and political self-expression of Africans.

An evidence of the growing maturity and determination of Negro citizens is the content of the resolutions adopted by twenty-five of the most important national Negro organizations (representing a membership of at least half the Negroes in the country) under the leadership of the N.A.A.C.P. at their meeting in New York on June 17. Its opening clause, summing up its demands, is worth quoting:—

“In the coming November election, the Negro voter will judge political parties, as well as candidates, by their words and deeds as to whether they show a determination to work for full citizenship status for thirteen million American Negroes and to better the lot of all disadvantaged peoples. Political parties and candidates that seek the votes of Negroes must be committed to the wholehearted prosecution of the war to total victory, must agree to . . . the passage of anti-lynching legislation, the unsegregated integration of Negroes into the armed forces, the establishment of a permanent federal committee on fair employment practices, and a foreign policy of international co-operation that promotes economic and political security for all peoples.”



This and similar statements seem to show that the well-known words of the late Southern scholar, Ulrich B. Phillips, that the Negro is "by racial quality submissive" no longer hold true of the leaders of the race in this country.

## V. THE MAJOR INTER-RACIAL BONE OF CONTENTION<sup>1</sup>

In addition to the failure of the South to guarantee the Negro some of his constitutional rights, he faces many difficulties in the United States. These are due to his relatively poor economic status, his lack of adequate educational opportunities in the South, prejudice of whites, both North and South, the tendency of the police and lower courts to treat Negro offenders with special severity, a much larger disease rate due to poor housing, economic conditions and other factors. But to the Negro at least the most important of all his obstacles is what is summed up in the current phrase *Jim Crowism*. This designation applies particularly to the so-called Jim Crow laws. The term was originally used of acts of Southern legislatures requiring the separation of the two races in conveyances. It now applies to all aspects of a rigid colour line enforced by legislation. Whether it has to do with schools, residential areas, enlistment in the Army, railroad coaches, work rooms or similar matters, the original purpose of these laws was to prevent, as far as possible, contacts between races which might imply what is called "social equality." They have been justified by their supporters on the ground of their belief that the Negro is inherently inferior to the white man, and that consequently in the interest of the white man—and some advocates would even say in the interest of the Negro also—the two races must be kept distinct, especially so as to protect the Southern white woman, and to prevent the likelihood of inter-marriage. They are opposed by a large element of the public, white as well as black, on the ground that they almost inevitably lead to inferior accommodations; that they involve economic waste by making the provision of double facilities necessary; that they tend to hold the Negro down and to keep him from participation in many forms of American life; and that they are inconsistent with the great American charters of freedom.

These laws started in Tennessee in 1881, but they merely formulated long existing public opinion. The effect of Jim Crowism is discrimination and segregation, and consequently segregation when enforced by law in any form has become the main object of attack by Negro leaders and by many white people who sympathize with them. Some Southerners have tried to compromise by taking the ground that Negroes should have equally good schools and equally good railroad accommodations and so on, but they claim that there is nothing in the Constitution which prevents their being kept separated.

As the Negro has won to a considerable extent, at least in theory, his battle for equality of rights, industrial opportunity, and education in most parts of the country, attention is being increasingly given to the segregation issue. It is more acute in the South than in the North;

<sup>1</sup> A preceding section describing the governmental and private agencies that have chiefly contributed to Negro progress in recent years has had to be omitted on account of space.  
—J. H. O.

but wherever there is a large Negro population in a Northern city alongside of a white population, there is apt to be a large amount of more or less forced residential and educational separation. Now the war, with the Selective Service Act, which requires all youth of eighteen to register for military service, has brought the issue to the front, as in practically all units of the army and navy the two races are segregated. The Merchant Marine has, however, recently tried two or three encouraging experiments of what are called " checkerboard " crews, where white and coloured seamen serve under a Negro master. There have also been successful experiments in training army officers together and in having coloured people admitted as clerical workers in government offices ; but the Negroes are naturally not satisfied, and are pressing in every way in their power laws designed to break down required segregation and give them a larger degree of civil and political power. With this in mind they have opposed the so-called poll tax, which prevents large numbers of poor Negroes from voting in certain, but not all, Southern States ; have urged Federal appropriations for education in regions which for one reason or another do not adequately support Negro schools ; have protested vigorously against the separation of Negroes and whites in recreation and rest centres in the army ; and have strongly favoured the breaking down of the colour line not only in federal housing projects and war industries, but also in every military unit.

The issue has been specially acute as owing to climatic conditions most of the army camps are in the Southern States, and Northern Negroes who find themselves in these camps are treated to a degree of segregation and humiliating subordination to which they are not accustomed in the North. It has also caused difficulty in many industrial plants, North and South, and has been largely responsible for the serious riots which have occurred in Detroit, Harlem, Philadelphia, Los Angeles and other cities.

A special case which caused a large amount of ill feeling was the decision of the Red Cross to decide to segregate blood given for soldiers. This decision was contrary to all scientific advice, as medical men recognize that there is no difference in the blood plasma and that the transfusion of Negro blood to a white man could not in any way affect his offspring. The plan of separate blood banks for white and coloured still holds technically, although in many cases it has been actually disregarded. Few matters which may appear on the surface to be of relatively minor importance have created so much ill feeling. The Negro press, which has improved in character and is an influential factor in demanding entire equality of treatment of white and coloured, has been specially emphatic on this issue.

Segregation cannot be eliminated over night as it involves matters in which folkways are set deep in history, but increasing numbers of Americans are determined to point out its evils ; to hold up the ultimate goal of a democratic society without any legal segregation on racial lines, and to eliminate one by one its serious manifestations. Recent discussion between Northern and Southern elements constructively interested in solving this problem would seem to look to some such formula as the following on which liberals might unite :—



In the relation between the races, we must strive for equality before the law, and in educational, cultural, civic and economic opportunities, to the end that we may ultimately realize the Christian-democratic ideal of the brotherhood of man and of equal human rights, as embodied in the Declaration of Independence, the Bill of Rights, and other fundamental American charters of freedom. These ideals are incompatible with racial arrogance, the domination of one racial group by another, and the forced segregation of any racial group. We must strive to reach the point where all such beliefs and practices are considered by the overwhelming majority of people to be both undesirable and unnecessary. To bring this about there is need of an enlightened public opinion based on an objective study of conditions and sympathetic mutual understanding between the races.

This does not involve the breaking down of legitimate racial pride, development and family traditions on the part of either group. The white man can remain a white man and the coloured man a coloured man; but in the interest of both there must be many more points of contact, and a larger measure of sympathetic understanding and co-operation as members of the one human family. This means that all forms of extreme isolationism, whether political, religious or racial, and whether self-imposed or forced from without, are dangerous and should be discontinued. It implies that just as in a free and ordered political world we must combine the values and interests of nationality and of internationalism; and as in the ecumenical Church we should unite the values and interests of our own religious body with those of the Church universal; so it is incumbent upon us as believers in Christianity and democracy, to work out some plan for combining the values and interests of historical racial divisions with the fact of underlying inter-racial unity. In this way the members of the white, black, yellow and red groups of mankind may each properly have a special kinship with their own group and make a distinctive contribution to world culture, while at the same time fully recognizing their fundamental unity, and patterning their lives in accordance with its spirit. Nothing short of such an ideal would seem to be consistent with the aims of the Allies.

## VI. THE OUTLOOK

There are those of us who can remember the sense of disillusionment and frustration that came to hundreds of thousands of Negroes when they returned home from the last war "to save the world for democracy," and found many rights of democracy denied to them in this country. We shall doubtless face a similar situation again in the next few years, but in both North and South representative people are increasingly determined that inequalities shall be remedied and the Negro given a fair chance. Several factors make the situation on the whole hopeful, although the status of the ambitious Negro in the South will continue difficult, and in some fields, such as that of industry, it will take a long time all over the country to overcome the old rule that the Negro is "the last hired and the first fired." The most encouraging factors are :—

That it is increasingly realized that the breaking down of all legal racial discriminations is a matter of vital importance to the American democratic experiment, and also highly important for the reputation of the United States abroad.

That the facts are being faced to-day both in North and South as never before on a basis of broader knowledge and a larger experience, and when facts are known and a community is reasonably intelligent and definitely Christian in outlook, some solution will be found for all difficulties.

That a larger group exists in the South to-day than ever before of men and women determined on giving the Negro larger opportunities and facilities. The more liberal of this group have come out squarely for removing all legal barriers to the Negro's voting and holding office, although on the question of separation in schools and certain other facilities there is still large difference of opinion. On the whole, the leading journals of public opinion in such places as Richmond, Atlanta, Louisville and Dallas have frankly advocated giving the Negro his full constitutional rights; but the reflection of Southern sentiment in Congress is not encouraging.

That the Negro has risen to self-consciousness, has developed very competent leadership, and is organized on a national scale for much more effective action on public opinion and in political life than ever before.

That various groups, such as the great labour organization known as the Congress of Industrial Organizations and a large number of industrial leaders, North and South, are more intelligently and constructively interested in the problem than heretofore.

That the Federal government is playing a larger and larger part in legitimate ways within its sphere in employing Negroes and protecting their rights.

That the Churches are more awake to the situation, showing frequently an aggressive leadership in the matter of aiding the Negro to improve his status. The recent appointment by the Federal Council of Churches of a strong "Commission on the Church and Minority Peoples" is an evidence of this re-awakened interest.

These are factors which lead us to large hope for the future, and this hope has been strengthened by considerations growing out of the trends of the present war between the forces of democracy and totalitarianism.

Very truly yours,

ANSON PHELPS STOKES

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